UNITY

FREEDOM, FELLOWSHIP AND CHARACTER IN RELIGION

(Jenkin Lloyd Jones, Editor, 1880-1918)

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The Durable Satisfactions of Life

By ALSON H. ROBINSON

The English Situation

By FREDERICK J. GOULD

A Critical Analysis of Western Civilization

By KIRBY PAGE

The Fall and Rise of an Idealist

By MIRIAM ALLEN de FORD

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The Field

"The world is my country, to do good is my Religion."

Resolutions, Unanimously Passed at a Public Mass Meeting to Protest the Arrest of Gandhi, Held in New York City on January 12, 1932

In this bi-centennial anniversary year of the birth of George Washington, leader of our fathers a century and a half ago in their struggle for national independence from the British crown, and in perpetual remembrance of the affirmation of our martyred President, Abraham Lincoln, that "those who deny freedom to others, deserve it not for themselves, and under a just God cannot long retain it"—

We, American citizens, in public mass meeting assembled on this evening of Tuesday, January 12th, in New York City, affirm anew our pledge to freedom for ourselves and for all mankind.

We hear the call of a great people, the semi-starved millions of India, struggling for freedom across the seas, and would answer this call as the France of Lafayette answered the call of our fathers when they were oppressed and overborne.

We hail the sainted leader of this great people, Mahatma Gandhi, protest against his arrest and imprisonment without trial, and plead for his release in the high interest of peace and brotherhood.

We salute the All India National Congress as the sole representative assembly of this people, protest against its lawless and brutal suppression by the British *Raj*, and plead for its restoration and recognition in the high interest in government of the people, by the people and for the people.

We denounce the rule of violence and tyranny now imposed upon India, reverence the patience, courage and steadfastness with which this rule is endured, and acclaim as of world-wide significance the campaign of disciplined non-violence directed to its overthrow and destruction.

And we pledge to the multitudes of India of all classes, races and religions, our full sympathy and support in their present struggle for freedom, and suggest to this end, in happy imitation of our Indian brethern, our own resolute boycott of British goods, British steamships, and British securities.

Freedom for India, peace to the world, justice for all mankind!

Announcement

Prize Competition on
World Peace

Realizing the hunger of humanity for Peace; knowing of the waste of capital, resources, genius and life on war and preparations for war; and looking to the younger generation in the Colleges and Universities to develop international fellowship by means of which the future Society of Nations

(*Continued on page* 311)

UNITY

"He Hath Made of One All Nations of Men"

Volume CVIII MONDAY, JANUARY 25, 1932 Number 19

UNITED STATES TO INDIA

(Gandhi took with him into prison a copy of Thoreau's essay on Civil Disobedience)

How many Thoreaus live today?
How many dare defy the sway
Of powers other men obey?

How many men throughout our land
Have strength to take a rebel stand
And listen alone to God's command?

How many honor America's creed
Of revolt from alien tyrants' greed
And reverence rebels wherever they bleed?

How many choose truth as adequate sword
And join with the righteous at home and abroad
In serving the risen and suffering Lord?

Enough for our voice to reach Indian ears,
Enough for our faith to conquer our fears,
Enough for our prayer to circle the spheres!

Glory to you who greatly dare,
Teach us your strength to fight despair,
Oh, India; you have our prayer.

RALPH CHEYNEY.

"Gandhi was arrested without a chance of coming to an understanding with the government. It only shows that, of two parties in building Indian history, the people of India can be ignored, according to our rulers.

"Despair itself should give us profound calmness and strength, which silently works its own fulfilment. The primitive lawlessness of our law-makers should forcibly awaken us to an ultimate salvation in love, which owns no defeat in the face of power.

"We should never forget our responsibility, but prove ourselves morally superior to those who are physically powerful." —*Rabindranath Tagore,* in the New York *Times,* January 6, 1932.

A profound significance attaches to this noble statement by the great Indian poet. Tagore and Gandhi have not always seen eye to eye on matters of political policy. But the precipitation of war in India by action of the British government, and the unprecedentedly ferocious character of this war as conducted by the British government, have combined to bring these two greatest Indians together in this hour of crisis. Tagore's statement is valuable first of all because of its testimony that Britain forced the issue into open conflict. The order for Gandhi's arrest was the Viceroy's answer to the Mahatma's request for an interview to the end of further negotiations in the interest of peace. Just as Gandhi had been willing to go to London in desperate pursuit of any hope of settlement, so on his return he was willing to treat with the *Raj* even in the face of the incredibly cruel ordinances instituted in Bengal and the United Provinces, and on the western frontier. Of course these ordinances must themselves be discussed as essential elements in the whole situation. But this the Viceroy refused, and, before Gandhi could even consider the refusal, clapped the Mahatma into jail, where he is now imprisoned without trial and for a term which may be as long as his own life. This was Britain's declaration of war—the calculated attack of a great empire upon a helpless people for their repression and subjection at any price of blood and horror.

Tagore's statement is again notable for its proclamation to all the world of the utterly barbarous and brutal character of Britain's war. "Primitive lawlessness" is an amazingly restrained phrase to describe what is now going on in India under so-called ordinances which gives the government which enacts them the power to arrest without indictment, to punish without trial, to kill without conviction, to seize, harry and destroy without limitation of law, mercy or even prudence. The horrors of Tsarist Russia are at last outdone—even in the worst days of tyranny in that unhappy country, the Russian revolutionists were met with no such hideous cruelty as now prevails under the British *Raj* in India. The significance of this imposition of the iron hand is of course obvious. Britain has suddenly gone mad. She is desperate, on the one hand, because of an economic and political break-down at home which makes it literally impossible for her to conduct a long and expensive struggle for the maintenance of her Indian empire. Hence her hope through terrifying violence to stamp out in a few weeks what would ruin her if it ran for months. On the other hand, Britain is desperate because of her utter inability to handle the campaign of non-violent non-cooperation so miraculously organized by the Mahatma. She knows what to do with force—her sword is used to blood as her chains are used to limbs! But she does not know what to do with an antagonist who, refusing to fight,

refuses also to obey and serve—and *buy!* Hence a deliberate attempt, as cruel as it is calculating, to break down the Indian discipline of *Satyagraha* by using against the people a violence so terrible that they cannot long endure it. This is the old medieval device of torture, for breaking morale and precipitating surrender. The horror of this policy is so apparent that it outrages the conscience of mankind. The Indians have only to bide their time, in what Tagore calls "profound calmness and strength," to have the world swing to their support. India must be freed from servitude to such a master!

Meanwhile, if Indians must wait, Americans must *not* wait! Before passing the prison gates which entombed him from the world, Gandhi appealed to his American friends to understand and sustain his movement. He insisted that this movement had world significance as being the first attempt on a national scale to win independence by methods of truth and love. Surely Americans must respond to this challenge, and have full right to do so. For this struggle in India is no mere British Empire affair. It is a struggle for liberty, and thus is a matter of concern to all liberty-loving people everywhere. "Where liberty is *not,*" said Thomas Paine, "there is my country"—and he made his faith good in his works by battling for liberty in America, England, France, wherever men were beset by tyranny. It is in this heroic sense that India is today our country, and Indians our countrymen struggling for what we have ourselves long possessed. But more than this! The Indian cause belongs to all men who believe in peace through brotherhood. In the vast movement of independence, Gandhi is putting to the test the weapon of non-violence. He is teaching us the way in which we can end the reign of the sword, and thus deliver mankind from the doom of war and death. It is in this sense, above all others, that all men everywhere have a stake in what is going on in India. If we believe in the religion we profess, we cannot afford to let Gandhi and his followers fail for lack of support. Therefore is it our duty as well as right to do what we can, at any sacrifice, to sustain the Indian struggle. UNITY appeals to its subscribers and friends to organize mass meetings, establish committees, raise money, send letters and cables of protest, do anything that can avail the cause. American opinion may well in the end decide this issue. Let American opinion be heard!

The most famous quality of the late JULIUS ROSENWALD was his philanthropy, but the most notable quality was his modesty. One of the richest men in America, Mr. Rosenwald made his own fortune by the shrewd direction of one of the most characteristic businesses this country ever produced. But he never assumed any of the grandiose airs of the trumphant millionaire. He never called himself a "master of industry," or a "Napoleon of finance." On the contrary, he insisted that it took no brains to make money, and that in his case as in the case of nine-tenths of the rich men of the nation, it was "more good luck than good management" that produced the money. That he claimed so little credit for the making of his wealth is perhaps one of the reasons why he took so little satisfaction in possessing it and none at all in spending it on himself. With a seriousness of purpose far more genuine than that of the late Andrew Carnegie, and with a personal self-effacement that puts John D. Rockefeller to shame, Mr. Rosenwald undertook to give away what fortune had bestowed upon him. Many and various were his philanthropies. Of them all, none was to our mind quite so beautiful as his benefactions on behalf of the Negroes—his gifts of schools, homes, Y. M. C. A. buildings to the members of this oppressed and struggling race. It was as though he recognized in those who had suffered even as the members of his own tribe had suffered, the spiritual kin of Israel. Or perhaps through experience with prejudice and persecution in the case of his own people, he was moved to assist and thus to protect the blacks who were similarly afflicted. Whatever the exact explanation, Julius Rosenwald gave his money with a compassion as wonderful as his wisdom, and he is mourned this day not more sincerely by the Jews than by the Negroes.

It is easy to make fun of the Pope, and his apostolic and pontifical utterances. His plea to Protestants at the close of the old year, that they should accept the Virgin Mary, come under the aegis of the Vatican, and therewith restore the broken unity of Christendom, had a quality of naiveté about it that was wellnigh incredible. But we believe it to be unfair, as well as foolish, to emphasize the details of a papal utterance and ignore its substance. The impressive thing about this recent statement on the reunion of Christians was the fact that the Pope's heart was disturbed by the church's endless divisions, and was seeking a way of healing these differences. That he should offer *his* way was as natural and inevitable as that we should offer *our* way. The main point was that the Pope wanted Christians to be again "one body in Christ," and dared to say so. The same thing holds good of other utterances of His Holiness in recent months. No religious leader of whom we know today has spoken so directly and fearlessly against war and for peace as the Pope. No other has dealt so uncompromisingly with the economic plight of mankind. Nor has any other ventured to point out the spiritual character of the present depression—i. e., its origin in materialistic ways of life that mark the degeneracy and of course the disintegration of our society. We are no Catholic

and seldom find much to interest us in Catholicism. We lament the prejudices and pretensions which "crib, cabin and confine" the papal mind. But we believe that, within his unescapable limitations, Pius XI stands out today as the most serious, sincere and stalwart Christian spokesman of our time. We ask our readers to point to any leader of any church who rivals him in his insistent application of spiritual ideals to the problems of a corrupt and troubled age.

During the recent Christmas holidays, when the colleges were closed, many of the scientific and philosophical societies of the nation held annual meetings at which learned men discourse learnedly on learning. For some years past, the New York *Times* has done remarkable work in "covering" these meetings and thus publishing elaborate reports of the addresses. We spent some time in the recent holiday season in reading these reports and we rise up to confess that the net result registered in our mind is confusion and even contempt. We have seldom encountered more hopeless contradictions, more futile generalizations, more fantastic speculations. One thing is perfectly obvious, and that is that these scientists know absolutely nothing definite and sure about the world. Some of them are honest enough to say so, but others are tempted to pontificate as though they were as infallible as the Pope. Knowing nothing that is in any way final or sure, these scientists indulge in speculations which, for sheer fantasy and impudence, outdo anything ever attempted by the theologians of our own or any age. The scientists are not a particle afraid of mythology. On the contrary, there are more myths floating around in the scientific atmosphere today than can be found in all the pages of all the Bibles of the world. Our scientists are incorrigible mythologists, and thus incredibly naive. It is amazing the things they will believe, provided only they themselves and not the theologians have invented them. After reading these reports of all these scientific addresses, we want to say that we returned with increased respect to the reading of the sermon page in the *Times*. The clergymen there quoted have no such claims to knowledge—if it *is* knowledge!—as the learned scientists, but they have a command of commonsense and rationality which the latter seem more and more to lack. In all this we are not implying that we have lost faith in science. We simply think that a good many of our scientists are ridiculous.

The Durable Satisfactions of Life

In addressing the freshman class of Harvard College in the year 1905 President Charles W. Eliot gave first expression to this searching phrase, the durable satisfactions of life. The great educator mentioned three elements as most desirable for these young men to cultivate.

First, bodily health, as the foundation of all human accomplishment, and indispensable to the fullest measure of life's satisfactions. Second, a systematic training of the mind—good mental habits and the power of concentration. Third, a sense of honor—not merely honesty in financial matters, but an honorable attitude towards all persons with whom one is brought into contact. The Declaration of Independence classified persons who cultivate such honor as those who have "a decent respect for the opinions of mankind."

Health, good mental habits, and a sense of honor—such are the durable satisfactions which may be acquired in early life, and thus acquired may be depended upon to weather the storms of advancing years.

Most of us are far removed from the freshman age. As we have moved forward through the years, however, it is not unlikely that to these durable satisfactions of youth, we have added others, and found that each cycle of life's experience has brought to the foreground certain abiding values. Particularly in a time like this, when so many of the familiar symbols of man's outward accomplishment are passing away, do we ask ourselves what these elements may be which continue to give satisfaction. I should like to suggest what some of these may be—

Simplicity: Only a short time ago we used to compare the age in which our grandfathers lived with our own, regarding the former as one of simplicity, and our own as a complex age. "It must have been delightful," we said to ourselves, "to live under those conditions, when everything was so simple." One wonders sometimes if it isn't really the other way around. That early age of our forefathers was, in reality, itself a very complex period, because they had to do so many different things. Food, clothing, shelter, and transportation were the result of their own individual activity.

It is a strange anachronism that in this period of depression we are living as though we were surrounded by a surplus economy, which among other things is supposed to provide leisure and the simple life. With the bitter spread of unemployment, enormous numbers of persons are compelled to adopt a life of leisure whether they desire it or not. And as for the simple life, there are lots of people who are realizing that the struggle for social position and advantage, which for years has absorbed so much of their bodily and

mental energy, simply isn't worth the effort. Many who have tried to do it are now saying that they are tired out, and don't want to "keep up with the Joneses" any longer.

If any considerable number of people can be brought to an effort toward the simplification of life, even though they are forced to do so, there may be some compensation for the attending distress of today. It may be that it was something of this sort which Jesus had in mind when he said to his disciples, "Unless ye turn, and become as little children, ye cannot enter the Kingdom of Heaven."

Sincerity: Every person likes to feel as he looks back over the things he has tried to do, whether they have been marked by what the world regards as success or failure, at any rate that his efforts were sincere. There's something very strange about the use we make of this element of sincerity. If a person is ill-mannered, or unattractive, or unintelligent, or unresponsive, we say of him, "I know he does all those things, and possesses all these defects, but he is so sincere." That is putting the quality of sincerity in a very unhappy classification. In any event, it is universally acknowledged to be one of the durable satisfactions, and we need a great deal more of it today.

During the past few months we have been subjected to predictions of all sorts and kinds, with reference to the health of our economic and social life. Many of them have told us that prosperity was just around the corner. When we reached that corner, we invariably found ourselves worse off than we were before. Now such prophecies are either unintelligent or lacking in sincerity, perhaps a little of both.

Particularly in the field of religion does this matter of sincerity present great difficulty. How can one honestly continue to repeat the old phrases over and over, which were formulated centuries in the past, but which bear no relationship to the kind of world in which we are living today. This new world in which we are living must be interpreted in a new religious language. Sincerity demands that our language harmonize with our thought and discovery. Such sincerity, though it sometimes calls for separation from some of the dearest associations of the past, is to be regarded as one of the durable satisfactions of life.

Human Communion: There is a well-known phrase in the Apostle's Creed, so called, which says, "I believe in the Communion of Saints." Whatever one's attitude toward the creed as a whole, most of us will regard this "Communion of Saints" as restricted not to the saints of the early church, nor to those enshrined in the stained glass windows, but as those very human saints sitting in the pews of our churches, of whom there are still considerable numbers.

This matter of human communion probably finds its best expression in the art of conversation, which before the days of many of our mechanical devices, used to afford great delight and satisfaction to all intelligent people. It ought to be remembered, however, that in the exercise of human communion, verbalization is by no means indispensable. Silence may be quite as satisfactory as sound. There is a story about Mr. Emerson and Mr. Alcott which illustrates my meaning. One afternoon, so the story goes, the door of Emerson's study opened, and Alcott walked in. After passing the time of day, and the usual conventionalities about the weather, the conversation ended. Through the lengthening shadows of the afternoon they sat in silence, with nothing to mark the flight of time, or mar the continuity of this communion, except the ticking of the grandfather's clock in the corner. Presently, Alcott remembered that it was time to do the chores. As he rose to go, Mr. Emerson said to him, "Goodbye, Bronson." To which Alcott replied, "Goodbye, Waldo. I had a good time."

Human communion, as one of the durable satisfactions of life, springs out of the fact that man is fundamentally, and incurably, a social animal. If we could somehow carry this element of human communion into that larger relation between races and classes and nations, perhaps we might have the key to a better solution of some of our great international difficulties.

Death: It may seem very strange to regard death as one of the durable satisfactions of life. Most of us undertake life's journey with the early realization of being surrounded by enemies upon every hand. The attitude which we take towards these common enemies determines very largely our philosophy of life. It does seem rather discouraging and hopeless, therefore, after having faced enemies all along the way, to anticipate the close of the chapter, and to regard the final act and supreme enemy as an element of value.

It is interesting for us to remember that from earliest times man has always approached the phenomenon of death with profound respect. When primitive man laid away his dead, he did so with tenderness and reverence. Impelled with the sense of mystery, he provided his deceased with such articles of food and implements of use as were associated with his friend's active career. We shall, of course, agree that it is not wise to become introspective about the future, since after all death is largely a metaphysical concept. The old theory of rewards and punishments, which have been at the center of our whole Christian theology, are purely speculative. We simply have no means of determining what the future has in store for us. We can believe, with confidence, as many of us do, that this life is merely the first step in our spiritual development. For the time being we have our work to do here and now. We are most concerned with living this present life richly and fully. The part which death plays in this scheme of things is to make us realize that there

are certain things which we must do now, or else forego their accomplishment, and the part they have to play in our spiritual nurture. As Jesus said to his disciples, "I must work the work of Him that sent me while it is day, for the night cometh in which no man can work."

These then are some of the durable satisfactions of life: simplicity, sincerity, human communion, and death. All of them, except the last, are in very considerable measure within our control. It is within our power to weave them into the fabric of the life that now is, and thereby share the confidence of Rabbi Ben Ezra in the compelling lines of Robert Browning:

So, take and use Thy work:
Amend what flaws may lurk,
What strain o' the stuff, what warpings past the aim!
My times be in Thy hand!
Perfect the cup as planned!
Let age approve of youth, and death complete the same!

ALSON H. ROBINSON.

Jottings

When Governor Roosevelt, of New York, called in his annual message for new national leadership, we imagined that he was appealing to "Al" Smith to enter the political lists again and thus run a second time for the presidency. But—curious!—the newspapers didn't take it this way. They assumed that the Governor was talking about *himself!*

Chinese "bandits" seem to be as numerous and as persistent in Manchuria as Nicaraguan "bandits" recently were in Nicaragua. *Query:* When is a patriot not a patriot? *Answer:* When he is a bandit!

We have never been able to understand why the radio broadcasting stations have their special "Nit Wit" and "Cuckoo" hours. Aren't they all?

We wonder if it was an accident that the Nudist cults began to flourish at just this time when Europe and America alike became engulfed in the depression.

The more Japan is talked to, the more she goes right ahead. Is this because she is sure of her position, or because she knows the United States and other western powers, with their well-known imperialistic records, are not sure of theirs?

E. H. James, of Concord, Massachusetts, whose book on India, "I Tell Everything," was recently reviewed in our columns, has departed for Geneva, Switzerland, where he is to open an International Indian Bureau. This Bureau will serve as a center for the cause of Indian freedom in Europe. It will also be used as a subscription office for the wider distribution of UNITY.

J. H. H.

The English Situation

[As Interpreted by a Distinguished English Radical]

A UNITY (16 November) comment on the political and social situation in England prompts me, a veteran of seventy-six years, to send a note which I trust may carry a little illumination. As my active interest in British politics opened in 1880, and I am still familiar with public moods and personalities, I may claim to speak with a certain directness.

The Industrial Revolution (1760-1820) which cast misery and shadow over masses of our people was yet inevitable, and produced the splendid reactions of the Owenites, Chartists, Trades-Unions, and the Co-operative Movement. While Karl Marx was writing his book on (the exact title should be observed) "Capital: a Critical Analysis of Capitalist Production" (1867), the system of capitalist production was being subtly undermined by a small group of men who produced nothing of actual social value,—namely, the financiers, bankers, etc., who merely handled money, and this money was mounting up to more and more paper (notes, cheques, bills of exchanges, etc.) with less and less metallic basis. Today, the capitalist producers are subordinate to the money men. The Socialist-Labor agitators have quite rightly attacked the exploiting and profiteering "producers," but have failed to perceive the transfer of power to the non-producing bankers and other money men. The triumph has only become clearly visible since Marx's death in 1883.

As the biographer of Henry M. Hyndman (d. 1921), I affirm that Hyndman, in his strenuous propaganda of Social-Democracy in the period, 1881-1921, was the true begetter (aided by William Morris) of the modern English Socialist-Labor movement. He never succeeded in getting into the House of Commons, and I am sure that failure was no source of grief to him. He roused great masses to hope and confidence in the war against poverty, class-rule and imperialism, and he effectively challenged the conscience of the aristocracy and bourgeoise. Hence resulted many smaller emancipations—free education, feeding of necessitous school children, old age pensions (1908), maintenance pay (dole) to unemployed, insurance against workers' ill health, etc., etc. And in 1931 the Conservative leader, Stanley Baldwin, is essentially a Liberal, in no degree behind the Liberals of the 19th century tradition in his economic attitude. I should add that Hyndman frequently denounced the finan-

ciers as well as the capitalist producers, though I think most of his followers, and especially the trades-unionists, lacked his keen perception in that field of economics. The Independent Labor Party (1893), led by Keir Hardie did not attack capitalism and finance with the vehemence and intelligence of Hyndman; and, as I belonged to that I. L. P. in the period, 1904-1916, I speak from close knowledge.

I knew Ramsay MacDonald some thirty-six years ago, and lived in Leicester city at the time when Leicester Liberal and Labor votes opened his Parliamentary career (1906), and, for a while, I knew him also in the Ethical Society and kindred movements. I say very decisively that, judged by the standard of Hyndman, Morris, and their comrade pioneers of 1881-1884, MacDonald was a born Liberal, and nothing more, even though he spoke in eloquent Socialist phrases. His apparently successful initiation of the "Labor Party" (not Socialist Party) in 1900 was achieved by using the non-Socialist trades-unions and their funds as a main foundation. He led this party from 1900 to 1931 in a course of political advocacy which never, at any time, reached the Social-Democratic grip, fire and uncompromising courage of Hyndman. In 1909, I publicly warned Labor circles; and in 1924 and 1929 I protested against MacDonald's taking the Premier's office by leave of the bourgeois Liberals. The financiers marked him as their useful instrument. If they could create an artificial alarm about the money-system, they might secure enough power to erect temporary barriers against the unavoidable tide of democracy, and, by annexing the ambitious MacDonald and one or two of his Labor colleagues, they could, if only for a few years, claim that Labor itself supported their "National" effort for economy and stability. It is so easy for people overseas to mistake the result in October, 1931. The financiers, laughing behind their hands, have placed MacDonald in a Premiership where they could (and now actually do) dictate his policy, and where, supported by 552 Conservatives in a House of Commons of 615 members, he is a servant in court uniform. That is the logical end of his methods of 1900-1931, and, to me, it has no element of surprise in it.

But behind this pageantry, unimportant in itself, stands the fact that, out of some 21,000,000 women and men who voted at the General Election of October, about 7,000,000 were definitely opposed to MacDonald, and to his Conservative-Liberal associates, and therefore to his humble service of finance. The Socialist pioneers of 1881-1884 would rejoice to see this army of 7,000,000, the fruit of their heroic endeavors.

It is quite true that the British Socialist-Labor force must reconstruct its program. Happily, it has now got free of MacDonald, Snowden (Lord Snowden) and Thomas. Nor will a return to the program of 1881-1884 be possible in 1932 and after. We do indeed still need the glorious and passionate hatred of poverty, and slums, and inferior education which animated Hyndman and his Social-Democratic Federation. But the transfer of power from capitalist producers to the financiers (an international power) calls for a fresh vision and fresh instruments. In Britain, since 1918-19, the needed vision and instruments have been furnished by C. H. Douglas, and his plan of national money based on the national (social) credit, of national credits granted to incorporated agricultural and other industries, of dividends for all irrespective of "work," of work-pay over and above the no-work-dividends, of the abolition of loans to the government, of scientific regulation of imports and exports, and, above all, of the control of prices with the avowed purpose of supplying the citizens' basic needs out of the national production-power. MacDonald wears glittering epaulettes; and the financiers enjoy a brief majesty; but the British people are preparing a money revolution which, aided by the religion of humanity, will open a new era of civilization. I speak in no blind enthusiasm. I know the transformation will require many years of struggle, that the beginning is already manifest.

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A Critical Analysis of Western Civilization

The extreme gravity of the world crisis with which we are now confronted can scarcely be exaggerated. An ominous prophecy is found in a letter written several months ago by Governor Norman of the Bank of England to Governor Moret of the Bank of France:

> Unless drastic measures are taken to save it, the capitalist system throughout the civilized world will be wrecked within a year. I should like this prediction to be filed for future reference.

Sir Arthur Salter, for many years head of the Economic Section of the League of Nations, in reviewing the international situation in the last issue of the Yale Review, said:

> This is a sombre, and indeed a terrifying, prospect. The foundations of the system under which we have grown up are threatened. Many of the institutions which have been the main pillars of our economic and political structure may be destroyed or profoundly modified.
>
> A paralysis which we do not seem to be able to diagnose has overtaken our machine civilization, (writes Raymond B. Fosdick, in the *New York Times.*) The year 1931 has seen this creeping paralysis fasten itself with a surer hold on the industry of the world. Fifteen nations, involving more than a quarter of the population of the globe, have been forced off the gold standard. Ten countries have defaulted on their external obligations. Revolution and social disorder have affected nearly half the people in the world. The anxiety that marked the passing of 1930 has deepened. Today the future seems far more uncertain than it did twelve months ago. * * * Western civilization has begun to look furtively around, listening behind it for the silent tread of some dread specter of destruction.

Let us now examine some of the reasons for alarm.

1. *The contrast between plenty and poverty* is one of the marked characteristics of our present society. Due to the unparalleled scientific and technological progress of the past century, industry is now able to produce goods in vastly greater quantities than can be sold. Every branch of industry is equipped to produce from two to ten times as many goods as can profitably be disposed of, with the result that we have overproduction all along the line. On the farm, as well as in the city, improved machinery has made available an output far in excess of the purchasing ability of the world market. Warehouses are therefore bursting with goods and granaries are overflowing with food.

Control of land, natural resources and the tools of production, have enabled a small minority to accumulate wealth on a scale that was not dreamed of even by kings in past generations. If a millionaire be

roughly classified as an individual with an annual income of $50,000, there were 38,889 millionaires in the United States in 1929, and 19,688 in 1930. In the former year 513 individuals reported an *income* in excess of one million dollars, and in the latter year the number was 149. In 1930 the number of individuals whose incomes reached $25,000 was only 60,266, yet the amount of tax they paid was 396 million dollars, out of 474 millions paid by all citizens of the United States. That is to say, less than one-eleventh of one per cent of the adult population paid 83 per cent of the total amount of income tax received by the United States government. In 1929 the number of incomes above $25,000 was 102,578, and their total tax was 928 millions, out of 1001 millions received by the treasury. Less than one-seventh of one per cent paid 92 per cent of the income tax!

Elsewhere I have published figures for 1929, which vary slightly from the above due to the fact that they were taken from the Preliminary Report issued by the Treasury Department.

Below the millionaire level there are perhaps half a million Americans who are moderately rich. It is to to these fortunate few that advertisement of a mink coat at $6,000, a motor car at $10,000, and a small yacht at $100,000 are directed. For the upper classes, America is a paradise of luxury.

Yet poverty abounds. In the midst of stores and shops bursting with every imaginable necessity, comfort and luxury, and in a land where agricultural products in many sections are selling at prices which are absolutely ruinous to the farmers, millions of Americans are facing actual starvation and must be kept alive by charity, while other multitudes endure terrible privations and are not far removed from destitution. Income tax figures reveal a tragic story. In 1930 only 3,376,552 persons filed income tax returns, and only 1,946,675 individuals were required to pay any income tax whatever. The law requires every resident to file a return if, as an unmarried person, his income reaches $1,500 per year, and if, as a man with a wife or family, the amount is $3,500 annually. There are some 72 million persons in this country who have reached the age of twenty-one. Less than three persons out of one hundred pay any income tax whatever.

In the year 1920, when single individuals were required to file income tax returns if their income was as high as $1,000, with $2,000 as the level for married persons, only 7,259,944 returns were filed and of these only 5,518,310 were taxable. That is, even during the post-war boom and with the taxable minimum at such a low figure, an income tax was paid by only nine per cent of the adult population. At the peak of prosperity in 1928 less than four per cent of the adults in this country paid an income tax.

The volume of physical suffering in this country is now so appalling that relief measures are obviously imperative. Upholders of the system of individualism are usually opposed to compulsory unemployment insurance, on the ground that the "dole is demoralizing," and advocate the American plan of private charity. As if bread lines and soup kitchens are not the most degrading types of the dole! Under the leadership of the President's Organization on Unemployment Relief, a vast campaign to secure gifts for the needy has been promoted throughout the nation. Mr. Gifford's committee has estimated that 170 million dollars will be required for unemployment relief in 314 cities, in addition to the normal budget of 90 millions for charity in these communities. If the various committees actually secure 170 million dollars for unemployment relief, this amount will make available $170 each for one million unemployed. That is to say, less than one unemployed person out of six will receive a bare subsistence for ten or twelve weeks!

The extent of destitution in Europe is far more tragic than in this country. For ten consecutive winters there has been a terrible degree of unemployment in England and wholesale starvation has been prevented only by a system of unemployment insurance which is so roundly condemned on this side of the ocean. The number of unemployed in Germany has climbed to five millions, with at least fifteen million persons directly involved. From an authoritative source, we learn that of the 32,500,000 persons in Germany who are gainfully employed, 29,500,000 or 91 per cent, earn less than $50 per month, while 50 per cent receive less than $25 per month.

When next we pray the Lord's prayer, let us be vividly conscious of the contradiction presented by an appalling volume of hunger and destitution in a world of overproduction and luxury.

2. *The menace of class war* constitutes one of the most ominous aspects of Western civilization. Everywhere the lines of industrial battle are tightening. Germany is on the very brink of a violent upheaval. The day of armed conflict between the Communists and the Fascists of that country draws nearer. The Tory landslide in England has driven British labor to the left and has enormously embittered the class struggle in the British Isles. In the United States the third consecutive winter of severe unemployment is causing such terrible misery that class consciousness and class hatred are spreading rapidly. The owning and employing class in general is so powerful and arrogant and blind that it will be a miracle if the workers are not provoked into desperate and violent efforts to secure justice.

The world has never seen such a consolidation of financial and industrial power as we are now witnessing in the United States. Through the device of the modern corporation, ownership of industry is diffused, but control is concentrated. Small boards of directors not only control their own huge fortunes, but also dominate the pools of invested capital which represent the savings of multitudes of investors. Professor Gardiner C. Means of Columbia University in a recent article in the *American Economic Review* has estimated that the 200 largest American corporations control between 35 and 45 per cent of all business wealth, and that these 200 corporations in turn are controlled by less than 2,000 directors. This enormous power enables these directors to dominate the distribution of the proceeds of industry. In a recent article in the *Atlantic Monthly,* Professor Sumner H. Slichter quotes the estimate of the *Monthly Survey of Business* that dividend disbursements by American corporations in the disastrous year of 1930 were actually 65 per cent higher than in 1928, whereas the wages paid by these corporations dropped 19 per cent during the same period! Dividends up and wages down! Power!

When the workers attempt to organize effective trade unions in the hope that by collective bargaining they may be able to obtain a more equitable share of

the proceeds of industry, they are frequently met with ruthless opposition from the employers. In many sections of the country, workers in order to secure employment are compelled to sign "yellow dog" contracts that they will not join labor unions. Many corporations make it a practice to discharge union members or "agitators." An industrial spy system is maintained by many corporations in order to weed out advocates of unionism. In many mining communities the coal companies own all the houses or shacks in which the miners live and are able therefore to use eviction as a means of suppressing labor organizations. Yet when miners under these circumstances strike for better standards, they are often looked upon as dangerous characters. They are not infrequently terrorized by armed strikebreakers and private guards, and sometimes even by "officers of the law."

The experience of Arnold Johnson in Kentucky during the past summer shed light upon the tactics sometimes employed by the operators. Mr. Johnson, formerly secretary to Sherwood Eddy and now a student at Union Theological Seminary, went to Harlan County, Kentucky, as a representative of the Fellowship of Reconciliation and the American Civil Liberties Union, for the purpose of aiding in relief work and helping to secure justice for the miners. He was soon accused of being an organizer for the I. W. W. and warned by "operators, judge and sheriff" to get out of town. When he refused to be intimidated, he was arrested on a charge of criminal syndicalism, that is, advocacy of the violent overthrow of the Government. The evidence produced in court to prove this charge was utterly ridiculous, nothing more harmful being cited than the fact that among the papers seized in his room was a pamphlet published by the American Civil Liberties Union upholding free speech for radicals. No effort was made to prove that Johnson had advocated the violent overthrow of government, or even that he had circulated literature which advocated the use of violence for this purpose. Solely on the charge that he had in his possession certain literature which was deemed objectionable by the judge, he was thrown in jail. When Johnson refused to permit his friends to advance the exorbitant bail of $10,000 demanded, he was kept in prison for 37 days—and then released without bail or without trial!

The domination of the region by the coal operators includes unwavering loyalty from their former employees and other supporters who are elected as sheriffs and judges. Thousands of men throughout Kentucky, West Virginia, Pennsylvania and other coal states are victims of even more flagrant miscarriages of justice than that of which Arnold Johnson was the victim. Additional evidence could have been secured by the Wickersham Commission for its report on "lawlessness in law enforcement" if its representatives had examined the situation in this area. In a report recently issued the Wickersham Commission said:

> Physical brutality, illegal detention, and refusal to allow access of counsel to the prisoner is common . . . . confessions of guilt frequently are unlawfully extorted by the police from prisoners by means of cruel treatment. . . . When all allowances are made, it remains beyond doubt that the practice is shocking in its character and extent, violative of American traditions and institutions, and not to be tolerated.

The class struggle is accentuated by the success of Soviet Russia in establishing a workers' dictatorship. The Russian system is provocative because it terrifies many owners of industry in other lands and tends to make them more ruthless in suppressing workers' organizations, and because, on the other hand, it incites the class-conscious workers elsewhere to attempt the violent overthrow of capitalism in their own lands. An ominous aspect of communist propaganda in the United States is the effort to enlist Negroes and train them for the day of armed revolution, thus making still more inflammatory the relations between the races.

To speak of the menace of class war is not to deny that the revolution has destroyed many ancient evils and has brought numerous blessings to the people of Russia. That the masses are better off than they were under the tyranny of the czars is not open to question in view of the available evidence. It is wholly probable, moreover, that the peoples of the earth will eventually be the beneficiaries of certain aspects of the Russian experiment. Out of this titanic convulsion will come both good and evil for humanity. But the evidence is cumulatively clear to me that the peoples of Germany, England, the United States and other highly industrialized countries can never create an equitable society by violent revolution. In four vital respects conditions in these lands differ from those presented in Russia. The rank and file in Russia have never known freedom; they have never known prosperity; industry was in its infancy in 1917, and the country was predominately agricultural; and due to the utter collapse of the czarist regime under the colossal burden of the World War, the Bolsheviks met with relatively feeble opposition. In a country like the United States, however, in spite of terrible poverty for many, standards of living have been relatively high and comparative prosperity has been widespread. The masses have been nurtured on a tradition of individual liberty, and in spite of the vast power of a financial and industrial autocracy, have enjoyed a wide range of freedom. To induce such peoples to submit to dictatorship and enforced privation in order to consolidate the revolution would be infinitely more difficult than has been the case in Russia. Moreover, the United States is highly industrialized and the dislocation produced by violent revolution would create utter chaos and wholesale starvation. Then too, the owning class in this country is so powerful that a successful revolution would require months and perhaps years of armed hostilities. Prolonged civil war in a highly complex industrial society would cause unparalleled devastation and misery. It is therefore evident that class war cannot be reconciled with the ideal of the Family of God on earth.

3. *The race between war and peace* is the most immediately alarming aspect of modern society. That there will be another world war within the next decade is freely prophesied by numerous observers of world trends. Economic competition among the great powers is becoming more terrific. The struggle for control of raw materials and markets grows more relentless. Tariff walls are being raised higher and higher. War debt and reparation payments rest with crushing weight upon standards of living and tend to strangle international commerce. Discriminatory immigration laws are bitterly resented in many quarters. The pressure of population in several countries accentuates their need for room to expand. Between Italy and France a dangerous tension prevails. Soviet Russia is feverishly preparing to repel an anticipated attack by a coali-

tion of capitalist powers, while in other countries there is a deep fear of the Red Army and Communist propaganda.

The crisis in Manchuria may yet engulf not only China and Japan, but Russia, Great Britain and other Western nations. Personally I am still confident that the League of Nations will in the end win a tremendous victory in preventing the annexation of Manchuria by Japanese militarists, but one cannot yet be sure of a happy outcome. Relations between France and Germany are extremely ominous. Unless reparation payments are drastically reduced, and unless new credits are forthcoming to enable Germany to meet her short time obligations which soon fall due, there is reason to be apprehensive that the misery and desperation of the peoples will lead to a violent seizure of power by the Fascists or by the Communists. Both of these extremes have indicated that if they come into power they will repudiate the Treaty of Versailles, refuse to pay any reparations whatever, refuse to keep Germany unarmed, and will cease to cooperate with the League of Nations and other international agencies of justice. The attempt to establish a dictatorship either of the right or the left would not only lead to civil war in Germany, it would strengthen the forces of chauvinism and reaction throughout the world.

Two momentous conferences are to assemble within the next few weeks: the economic conference on reparations and war debts at the Hague on January 18th, and the World Disarmament Conference at Geneva on February 2nd. Vast issues are at stake in these two conferences. For good or evil they will make history on a grand scale.

At this critical period, when the fires of international fear and hatred are burning furiously, the militarists of the various countries are pouring oil on the flames by campaigns of military preparedness. Everywhere efforts are being made to militarize the public mind by singing the old songs: war is inevitable; preparedness for war is the best guarantee of peace; treaties of peace and international agencies of justice are futile unless backed by armed force. Through the press, on the platform, over the radio, through the movie and other available devices, a vigorous effort is being made to convince the public that only in armaments can security and justice be maintained. In the United States two years' military training is required of all students in some 90 colleges and universities and in some 25 high schools. Approximately 145,000 American students are taking courses in military training and are being indoctrinated with the theory of armed preparedness.

If mankind continues to squander its substance upon armaments and then stumble and stagger into another war, there will be no victor but only vanquished. It has been predicted that by 1945 there will be one million airplanes in the United States alone. Men have already flown at the rate of seven miles per minute and have covered five thousand miles without a stop. Deadlier and yet deadlier poison gas is available. Surely it is obvious that reliance upon the war system cannot lead to the creation of the Family of God on earth.

4. *The impotence of governments* in dealing effectively with the problems which menace our society constitutes another threatening aspect of Western civilization. Democracy is everywhere under attack. In a dozen countries dictatorships have supplanted democratic processes and elsewhere representative government functions badly. The bankruptcy of the leadership in the United States has been illuminatingly revealed by a recent book entitled "Oh Yeah?" The compiler has assembled in chronological order various statements and prophecies made by outstanding leaders during the present depression. When these various utterances are read in sequence, and compared with actual happenings they reveal the abysmal ignorance of our best minds concerning the trend of events.

The foreign policy of the United States is becoming increasingly significant to the rest of the world. What we do about war debts, tariffs, armaments, the World Court and the League of Nations may determine the outcome of the race between war and peace. Yet on all these issues, Congress is as likely to adopt a fatal policy as it is to make a wise decision. The evidence is conclusive that we shall never be able to collect the huge sums due in war debt payments and that continued efforts to collect these amounts will prove disastrous to international commerce and may lead to war. High tariff walls in an interdependent world are stifling and strangling at best, and at worst may destroy international friendship and peace. To continue the race of armaments and to withhold cooperation from the World Court and the League of Nations is to invite international suicide. Therefore, witnessing Congress in action intensifies one's apprehensions for the future. While the graft and corruption in state and municipal governments are sufficient to produce despair.

When we come to examine the reasons for the prevailing ineffectiveness and impotence of democratic processes, we discover the operation of four factors. First, under a system of individualism, based upon self-interest as the motivation and competition as the method, it is wholly probable that most politicians will follow the example of business men in securing the maximum individual reward for themselves and their clients. To eulogize self-interest in business and to condemn it in politics leads to a fatal contradiction. Second, as long as citizens in general are motivated by self-interest, they are likely to be indifferent to government, except as their own pocketbooks are directly involved, and will remain untrained in the science of citizenship. Third, in an industrial society where the tremendous power of financial and economic autocracy is felt in every remote corner, political democracy is doomed to impotence, for the obvious reason that in the existing world, economic power transcends and dominates political forces. The cure for democracy has ever been more democracy. A fourth reason is found in the unwillingness of the voters to support the Socialist Party or any other party committed to the task of transforming capitalism into a more equitable society. The recent New York City election reveals the inertia and stupidity of the voters. Although the Seabury Commission had produced evidence which had driven six or eight judges from the bench because of fraud and corruption, and although the direct relation of Tammany with these debauches was well established, the voters returned Tammany candidates to office with unprecedented majorities. For example, the Tammany candidate running against Norman Thomas, probably the most intelligent and hopeful figure in American politics, polled more than five times the Socialist vote.

Since it is obvious that the sphere of government

becomes more extended and significant as society becomes more complex and interdependent, the supremely crucial question is this: can we produce intelligent and public spirited leaders in sufficient numbers, and can the voters be trained to follow such leadership?

Due to limitations of time, this analysis is obviously incomplete and inadequate. Race prejudice and hostility, lawlessness and crime, the cancer of secularism, the confusion in the realm of moral standards and value, the pathetic weakness and timidity of organized religion—all these deserve an emphasis which it is not possible to give in the brief period at my disposal.

That my analysis has been one-sided is apparent to all. There *are* brighter and more hopeful aspects of Western civilization. I myself once edited a volume entitled "Recent Gains in American Civilization." Moreover, it is obvious that I have not offered solutions for the various problems presented. I have rigorously confined myself to the theme assigned to me, namely, a critical analysis of certain aspects of Western civilization. Other leaders will discuss ways out of the dangerous situation in which our society finds itself. We, none of us, at present know the way out of the darkness into the light of an equitable society. Our generation has been too absorbed in the struggle for profit and power to explore the pathways that lead to a socialist commonwealth. Too few experiments in social planning and social control have been inaugurated and cultivated. The frantic struggle for private gain and the deification of force have blinded us to the value of a cooperative society and the efficacy of non-violent methods of achieving a worthy end.

The odds *are* heavily against us. The visible evidence furnishes numerous reasons for apprehension concerning the future. The prospects for the days just ahead are exceedingly gloomy. Two possible courses of action are open to all of us as we stand confronted with terrifying threats to our civilization. We may yield to despair and decide to eat, drink and be merry for a few delirious months or years.

On the other hand, we may regard the terrible odds against us as a challenge, an opportunity and a privilege. We may conclude that the times are too serious for trifling and, turning our backs upon the insane struggle for private gain, commit ourselves resolutely to the life-long endeavor to transform modern civilization into a society which may appropriately be called the Family of God on earth, standing ready to go wherever vision and duty call. The pathway to the ideal community leads past the place of crucifixion upward to the triumphant summit of joy over the supreme achievements of glimpsing the promised land. Travelers along this highway are privileged to draw heavily upon the inexhaustible resources of the Great Pioneer and Eternal Friend.

KIRBY PAGE.

Trumpets on New Horizons

Snow Star

I walked upon a lonely street,
With steps the tired know,
When soft upon my sleeve there fell
A pointed flake of snow.

In solitary loveliness
The perfect crystal lay,—
A star that knew a moment's form,
Then blurred and slipped away.

But beauty thronged the lonely place,
My feet were heaven-shod,
Because I held, for just a breath,
A little star from God.

ANNA BALMER MYERS.

A Main Street Tragedy

Do you see drama
In a bottle of milk
That stands in the sun
Growing sour?
If you do not,
Turn aside from the silk
Of your life. Come with me
For an hour.

There. See the child.
She is hungry. And cold.
She is starved. Will you look?
Will you turn from your book?
Will you help? or forget?
In your power.

If you do not
Turn aside from the silk
Of your life, she will wilt
Like a flower.

Do you see drama
In a bottle of milk
That stands in the sun
Growing sour?

BERTHA WILLIAMS.

Gargantuan Laughter

A war veteran
Stands hour on hour
In the rain and wind
Selling apples on the corner.

Through long days,
He pleads:—
"Who'll buy a nice red apple?"

Patient and humble,
Suffering cold and humiliation,
No longer proud and ready to save his country,
Happy, if he saves a penny now and then
To feed a wife and hungry babies.
Thankful if someone, out of pity,
Buys an apple.

* * *

How old Mars must shake with laughter
Looking down, today,
Upon a veteran
Standing humbly on a corner
Suffering cold and humiliation,
Pleading, begging:—
"Help a veteran. Buy an apple."

SALLY ALLEN.

Love Is a Silver Word

Love is a silver word;
A star in the night;
It is swift as the wings of a bird,
Ecstatic and bright.

FLORENCE EAKMAN.

The Fall and Rise of an Idealist

Governor "Sunny Jim" Rolph of California, who when a reporter asked him if a rumor was true that he was going to pardon Tom Mooney on Labor Day retorted, "What are you doing—kidding me?" and who at this writing is still trying to make up his mind since Jimmie Walker made his appeal, recently rewarded a faithful servant. He appointed Charles M. Fickert attorney to the State Board of Medical Examiners, at a salary of $250 a month.

Thus does the depression end for the injured martyr whom the people of San Francisco rewarded for his glorious prosecution of Mooney and Billings by defeating him for re-election as district attorney. Fickert has been slipping farther and farther down the economic grade ever since. Long before October, 1929, made paupers of us all, he was trying in vain to build a law practice in Los Angeles; after the Billings hearings before the State Supreme Court in 1930 he stayed in San Francisco, announced himself—without obvious success—as a realtor, and spent most of his time begging former political friends (and a few political enemies) for the use of their influence to get him a place at the state trough. The day after the papers carried the news of Mooney's suit in equity against the people and county of San Francisco, charging Fickert and Edward Cunha (Fickert's assistant in 1916) with extrinsic fraud in his case, in suborning the proved perjury of Oxman and McDonald, the governor appointed the ex-district attorney to his new job. A cynic might see some connection between the two events, but they were probably merely fortuitous; Rolph is not sufficiently forthright or daring an individual to proclaim thus openly which side he is on. A week later Billings, in a remarkable letter, dissociated himself from the Mooney defense; this probably was a result of the equity suit; but the Fickert appointment was purely sequential, not consequential.

Fremont Older, the only pure Tolstoyan Christian now on this material plane, says that Fickert is a noble soul gone wrong. Older believes in returning good for evil; a dozen years ago Fickert approached him in the Palace Hotel in San Francisco, called the much older man a vile name, and knocked him down. A few years later, when Fickert was ill and bedridden, Older was the only one of his former acquaintances to call up and inquire sympathetically about him. When the announcement was made of his recent appointment, the Scripps newspaper in San Francisco, *The News,* editorially called it "shameful"; but Older's paper, *The Call-Bulletin,* remained mercifully silent.

It may really be that with better associates or a stronger will, Fickert might have become the sort of man who could not have framed labor men to oblige his masters. His picture in the college record in his Stanford days, when he was a football hero, shows an open-faced, clean-looking youth who had apparent potentialities for good. His great chum then was Will Irwin. Like a "great engineer" who is also a Stanford man, Fickert was not the most brilliant student of his class; Irwin's coaching saw him through, and eventually he emerged a full-fledged embryo attorney.

It was shortly after this that Fickert first met Older. The young man called at the editor's office—Older was then editing *The Bulletin*—to congratulate him on his campaign in the graft prosecutions which followed the San Francisco fire and sent Abe Ruef to San Quentin. Fickert was all afire with admiration; he, too, would be a "soldier in the liberation war of humanity." But it was not long after that he fell under the influence of the late Frederick W. Henshaw, who resigned his seat in the State Supreme Court to keep Older from exposing him for bribery. The young lawyer was easily flattered and suggestible; when next he and Older met, it was on opposite sides of the Mooney case.

When Robert Minor was connected with the Mooney defense in San Francisco, he was importuned to cartoon Fickert for one of the local papers. He refused point-blank. "I can't caricature that man," he said. "He has the head of an idealist."

It is true: Fickert still has the face of a spoiled idealist. In certain aspects he looks enough like Clarence Darrow to pass for his brother. It is quite possible that he is a man who, "taken at the tide," might have become an advocate of the under-dog, a convinced and open liberal. Nevertheless, his conditioning was of the distinctly opposite variety; and however sorry one may be for his years of poverty and failure and practical disgrace, he still remains the ex-district attorney who acquiesced in and helped to suborn perjury, who helped build up an elaborate plot that ended in one innocent victim's being condemned to the gallows and another's being sentenced to life imprisonment in Folsom, who, according to the dictograph record in the Densmore report, said, "We'll get Mrs. Mooney to the corner of Steuart and Market Streets (the scene of the Preparedness Day explosion) if we have to send her there in a balloon."

What effect the new suit brought by Mooney against the city and county will have on the newly appointed attorney to the Board of Medical Examiners remains to be seen. The suit in equity itself, which was tried out ten years ago on Mooney's behalf by Edwin McKenzie, now Billings' attorney, and was thrown out by the heavily reactionary Supreme Court of California, seems to have little chance of success. The present district attorney, Matthew Brady, has declared himself frequently in favor of Mooney's release, and will doubtless consider it proper to turn the prosecution over to one of his assistants who is not involved in the case, and whose duty it will be to prosecute it vigorously. If Mooney won, it would be the district attorney's duty to move for an appeal to the Supreme Court, and there is not the slightest doubt what that body would do. It would vote immediately to reverse the decision, with Justice Langdon dissenting as usual. Meanwhile, the bringing of the suit gives Rolph a good alibi to keep on playing the Governor Young trick, say he has had "no time" to read the transcript or interview witnesses, and defer making a decision. (Rolph is so busy attending fiestas and fairs and celebrations that he tried in vain to get the state to buy him an airplane, and he is out of his office in the state capitol oftener than he is in it.) He was finally forced to listen to Walker, Walsh, and Sapiro at Mooney's first gubernatorial hearing; but he has handed the burden of his decision to Judge Matt I. Sullivan, on the same old plea of "no time to read the records."

But whatever the fate of the suit or of the hearing, the fact remains that Fickert, with Cunha, is the chief defendant in the equity suit, and that he is in for some more very nasty publicity. His rejoicing at his new

rise in fortune is probably tempered with annoyance at this fresh reminder of his past career. Walker somehow "jimmied" a pro-Mooney letter out of him, which he recanted on in feverish haste. Nevertheless, he seems to be again on his way up. Like Susan Lennox, he has had his fall; and now begins his rise. The apex of that rise will depend on how desirous the general public in California is to overlook the whole history of the Preparedness Day frame-up, to bury out of sight those boring apparitions of the past, Tom Mooney and Warren Billings, and to reward the loyal henchmen of the great industrialists who are the real rulers of "the land of orange-groves and jails."

MIRIAM ALLEN DE FORD.

The Study Table

Gandhi and Socialism

In this pamphlet,* Mr. Gregg, a devoted and thorough student of all phases of Gandhi's life and work, sets forth a brief exposition of our modern Western civilization, and compares it with both the Mahatma's philosophy and with socialism.

He first succinctly explains the controls of our capitalistic society. Money controls through its five functions:

(1) A common medium of exchange; (2) a common measure by which the comparative values of those exchanges are estimated; (3) a standard for estimating the present value of a future act, payment or obligation; (4) a store of value, and (5) an agency for transmitting values.

It is claimed that Gandhi would correct the chief abuses of this system. Most people "have looked upon money as a store of value, and try more to accumulate a fund of money than a fund of human trust and friendliness." Gandhi "creates moral trust, faith and credit," in place of the money credit of bankers. One of the chief functions of Gandhi has been building up an immense fund of moral trust and confidence. The response has been astonishingly great.

The next control used by our Western civilization is physical violence, which influences all persons taking part in it, and building up confidence in itself. But the Mahatma's program of Satyagraha does away with all that. "It will bring about a fundamental change of inner attitude by psychological influences." The new basis of civilization becomes "service and love."

The third control is by the recognition of "dimensions, grades and distinctions, and playing upon people's vanity and pride." But by Khadi, Gandhi levels these outer symbols of clothes and positions, and makes all men stand upon their innate worth.

The fourth control is parliamentarism—the use of talk and of political division. Of this type is the work done by Royal Commissions, etc. But Satyagraha goes beyond this and substitutes action, and is therefore "more potent, swifter and simpler." This is especially adapted to the Hindus for the great majority of them live in small villages.

With this background Gregg takes up the brief discussion of Socialism.

Gandhism is like Socialism "in having as its motive the service of the common man, and the producing of more social and economic justice and equality than has generally prevailed in the world." The two also tend to weaken the money system, and to release the hopes of millions of repressed peoples.

In Gregg's belief, however, Gandhism is superior to and differs from Socialism. The contrast is largely with the Soviet and hinges upon the following points:

(1) Communism continues its faith in violence; (2) Gandhism by the use of Khaddar and charka is more effective in its attack on the old gradations; (3) it provides a more direct and effective service in "creating the new social order," by its hand spinning; (4) it is more immediate, and is thus better adapted to India than Socialism, which arises from a highly centralized form of government; (5) it is superior because it provides practical economic reconstruction before political reorganization, and lastly (6), it is superior because it is more indigenous and comes out of the heart of the Hindu.

This pamphlet, like all other work of Gregg, is clear, logical and fundamental. The subject might well have been treated more fully, and it could well have been enriched with quotations from Gandhi and with concrete illustrations of the working of Gandhism. But the author is more interested in the philosophy of the movement and this he grasps as well as any writer we have ever read.

CLARENCE R. SKINNER.

*Gandhism and Socialism: A study and comparison by Richard B. Gregg. Published by S. Ganesan, Triplicane, Madras, 1931. (40 pgs.)

Agitators

All fair-minded students of the prohibition problem will find great stimulus to thought in "These Agitators and Their Ideas"* which is a series of straightforward, informational narratives of the lives and deeds of fifteen noted men and women who were pioneers in that cause. These show that the temperance cause was advocated as far back as the Revolution when Benjamin Rush of Philadelphia, an outstanding physician in colonial days who signed the Declaration of Independence, began agitation against the use of distilled liquors. As physician general in the army he was in close touch with Washington. He was never a total abstainer but his work was so effectual as to considerably reduce the sale of distilled liquors. The sidelights on colonial history in the life of this versatile pioneer are most interesting.

The work of Lyman Beecher in Connecticut was notable. He asked "Can you lawfully amass property by a course of trade which fills the lands with beggars and widows, orphans and criminals, and the world with the woe of victims in despair? In his day churchmen were drinkers and scandalized him by high excitement from liquor at an ordination meeting. His six sermons on temperance marked an epoch and had tremendous influence on Neal Dow who led in the effort culminating in Maine and several other states adopting prohibition. The author gives us interesting glimpses of General Dow's Civil War experiences and his speech in Libby prison. No other essay is so dramatic and thrilling as that of John B. Gough, a victim of delirium tremens, who after long agony mastered his fiery appetite and gave the world forty-four years of matchless service to prepare for a sober America. His crusade led Abraham Lincoln to become a life-long abstainer. His eloquence made Frances Willard call him "the

*These Agitators and their Ideas, by Harry M. Chalfant, Cokesbury Press, Nashville, Tenn. $2.00.

most completely equipped many-sided orator of his day" and John Wanamaker referred to his life as "like a great cathedral full of music."

Of all women, Frances Willard, with superb platform talent, is best known as a temperance pioneer during that unprecedented historic Woman's Crusade when with other saintly women she knelt in the sawdust of saloons and prayed God to remove the curse that blighted their homes. When she joined the Crusade the women were hardly more than a mob, but she left them a trained army. She was the organizer of the Women's Christian Temperance Union, now doing work in fifty-one countries and she deserves her recognition in the capitol at Washington and in the Hall of Fame.

John G. Woolley was another pioneer whose clarion voice was particularly effective in arousing a somnolent church. He saw the innocent everywhere suffering from the ravages of rum and millions of professed Christians asleep. He conceived it to be his mission, to ring the fire-bell, to disturb their slumbers, to arouse to duty those who were showing that they were only nominally Christian. As lawyer, author, lecturer, in his own land and in many foreign lands he carried conviction through his burning eloquence and logic.

The romance of "Pussy-foot" Johnson whose eye was put out by a missile thrown in a London mob, his triumphal journey in India and his trip around the world close the valuable record of a phenomenal fight by courageous, heroic souls against one of the greatest curses of mankind. Spite of bootleggers and much lawlessness in high places, today the saloon has gone and the public sees comparatively little of the open drunkenness that everyone who can remember the condition thirty years ago vividly recalls.

LUCIA AMES MEAD.

Correspondence

The Religious Approach

Editor of UNITY:

"The name of God is Jesus." "We can find the answer to all life's questions in Jesus Christ." "The cause of all our trouble is because we do not see Jesus." "Apart from Jesus, to the making of gods there is no end and most of them are devils." "You cannot live, and you cannot think rightly until you grasp the fact that God is Infinite Love." The above quotations are from "The Wicket Gate" by Studdert Kennedy.

The same thought is expressed by Christ when he sent his disciples out to preach his gospel. He was telling them how they would be persecuted and said, "All these things will they do unto you, because they know not my Father nor me." Also in his words when on the cross, "Father, forgive them, they know not what they do."

If the above statements are true, then the foremost question of the hour is, "What is God like?" Till we arrive at a correct concept of God, it is just a matter of "the blind leading the blind and we will fall into the ditch." When we look for the answer, we find more confusion of thought than on most any other subject.

We have been trying to find God in the churches. Recently I heard a minister say, "The church was the place to find God."

What kind of a god do the churches believe in? During the World War they prayed for victory over their enemies, and when we were killing our brothers, told us we were carrying on the "Master's work." During the present depression they pray for "prosperity" and that their "god will in some way or manner take care of the needy." In a land overflowing with the necessities of life.

What kind of a god would it be that would answer such prayers? It would be a god of war and of hate. A god that believed in class distinction and the unequal distribution of life's necessities. If they make the claim that they do not believe in such a god, then they believe one thing and pray for another.

They say, "We have lost our vision of God." Yes, their god. The world has no use for such a god. The church has no message that satisfies the deepest longings of humanity.

Recently a minister told a story of a mother and a wayward daughter to illustrate the love of Jesus. The daughter stole out of the house one night into the street, and wandered in sin till she contracted an incurable disease. Before she died she wanted to see the old home once more. She returned, saw a light in the bedroom that used to be hers. Thoughts of the old home compelled her to go to the door, which was unlocked. She stole in and upstairs to her room. The bed made and turned down, a clean nightdress for her. She commenced to cry. The mother heard and went up to her, told her the room had been kept that way ever since she left. And then they sobbed it out together.

The minister then said, "If we multiply that mother love by Infinity it would represent the love of Jesus." Then it would represent the love of God, for "The Father and I are one." But in the same sermon he said, "Jesus paid the debt, paid it all."

If we examine that mother love, we will see the aching heart, the anxious days and wakeful nights, longing, listening, waiting, watching for the return of the prodigal. Her love was following her in all the paths of sin. If it had been possible she would have followed bodily. No place too vile to enter. No sacrifice too great. All the recompense she asked, was to hold the daughter to her breast.

The church teaches that, for some mysterious reason, God could not forgive till the debt was paid. That the cross was God's will. No. The Christ was God's will. The cross was man's will.

It was at the cross that Love and Hate met and came to grips. It was at the cross that puny man dared to lift his hand against his Maker. We crowned him with a crown of thorns, mocked Him, spat on Him, crucified Him and taunted Him. "If thou be the Son of God come down from the cross." "He saved others, himself he could not save."

It was at the cross that sin was shown in all its blackness. It was at the cross that Love shone out in all its purity and power. "Father, forgive them, they know not what they do."

Neither hell nor death could conquer Love. Some time mankind will discover that God is Infinite Love. Man is so constituted that ultimately he will yield to that Love. I wonder if we have not been looking in the wrong place to find Jesus. "He was the friend of publicans and sinners." "He came not to call the righteous, but sinners to repentance."

JOHN T. RICKETT.

Howell, Mich.

The Field

(*Continued from page* 298)

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Any further information will be readily supplied.

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(With the election of members of the council)

of the National Federation of Religious Liberals

to be held

in St. John's Universalist Church

Joliet, Illinois

February 2 and 3, 1932

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A Public Platform Meeting.

Speakers—

The Rev. William Robert Hodgson of the Congregational Church, Moline, Ill. "Safe-guarding Our Youth."

Dr. Charles E. Snyder of the Unitarian Church of Davenport, Ia. "Credits and Values."

Wednesday, Feb. 3, at 10:00.

The Business Session of the Conference.

At 11:00.

The Meeting of the Council.

At 12:30.

Luncheon.

At 2:00.

A Round Table led by Dr. Curtis W. Reese, Dean of Abraham Lincoln Center, Chicago, Ill. "Race Conflicts."

At 6:30.

Dinner at the Church.

At 7:30.

A Public Platform Meeting.

"The Proposed Union of the Universalist and the Unitarian Churches." Dr. Roger S. Galer, Mr. Pleasant, Iowa.

Dr. Sydney B. Snow, President of the Meadville Theological School, Chicago, Ill

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